

DISCUSSION PAPERS FOR
WORKSHOP ON GENERAL LINE
FOR THE PROGRAM

Packet No. 2

- Readings on General Line
- Guide Questions for General Line Readings
- Past Goals and Objectives for Ethnic Studies
- Organization and Decision-Making in the Program

Note: The draft of the General Line has been circulated through the respective Steering Committee representatives

WORKSHOP DATE: Thursday, April 15, 1976

TIME: 10:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.

Transform Schools Into Instruments of Proletarian Dictatorship

by worker-peasant-soldier students in the radio
department of Peking University

THE great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism." In the current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should study the Marxist theories on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolution in education in connection with the struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the educational front. This is of great practical significance to us in keeping to the orientation of the revolution in education and further transforming schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Clear-Cut Class Character of Education

Marxism holds that education is an important component part of the superstructure. A given education reflects the politics and economy of a given society and at the same time exerts a great reaction on them. In class society, education has a clear-cut class character and it always serves the political line of a specific class. All classes, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, invariably use education as their tool for overthrowing or safeguarding the dictatorship of a certain class. There is no such thing as education that stands above classes.

In capitalist society, education is an instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. While doing everything possible to train its children into its successors and defenders, the bourgeoisie gives the children of the labouring people an enslaving education and trains them to become useful slaves creating profits for the bourgeoisie and not disturbing its life of tranquillity and leisure. Lenin stressed: "Since they were thoroughly imbued with the class spirit, the old schools naturally gave knowledge only to the children of the bourgeoisie. Every word was falsified in the interests of the bourgeoisie. In these schools the younger generation of workers and peasants were not so much educated as drilled in the interests of that bourgeoisie." (*The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*.)

Education of the proletariat is diametrically opposed to that of all the exploiting classes. To thoroughly overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, use socialism to triumph over capitalism and ultimately realize communism — this is the great historical mission of the

proletariat and the fundamental task of proletarian education as well. After the October Revolution, Lenin explicitly pointed out that the proletariat must fundamentally transform education according to its own image so as to turn education into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said: It is necessary "to complete the work that began with the October Revolution in 1917 to convert the school from an instrument of the class rule of the bourgeoisie into an instrument for the overthrow of that rule and for the complete abolition of the division of society into classes. The schools must become an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., a vehicle not merely of the general principles of communism but also of the ideological, organizational and educational influence of the proletariat on the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian sections of the working people with the object of completely suppressing the resistance of the exploiters and of building the communist system." (*Draft Programme of the R.C.P.[B.]*)

Two-Line Struggle on Educational Front

To transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat for training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause or to turn them into instruments of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for training intellectual aristocrats to restore capitalism is a fundamental issue in the two-line struggle on the educational front. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in China. At this turning point in the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao took a series of important measures to consolidate the newly established political power of the proletariat. An important link in these measures was to reform, systematically and prudently, the old schools and educational undertakings and the old social-cultural undertakings, so as to meet the needs of the newly established superstructure and economic base. We uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat and strive to build socialism; whereas Liu Shao-chi and his like wanted to "consolidate the new-democratic order" which actually amounted to restoring capitalism. On the educational front, they clamoured: "We are not familiar with the ways of running education. . . . So what shall we do? Basically we should follow the old way and keep it basically intact." Whether to thoroughly reform the old education or to "keep it

basically intact" is a sharp struggle between the two lines on the educational front.

During the long years of revolutionary wars, Chairman Mao always attached great importance to the work of school education. Applying the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, he laid down the line, policies and methods for the proletarian revolution in education. In his inscription written in December 1937 on the occasion of the establishment and opening of the Shenpei (Northern Shensi) Public School, Chairman Mao put forward in clear-cut terms the task of the proletarian schools. He said: "It is necessary to train a great many people as vanguards of the revolution. People who are politically far-sighted. People imbued with the spirit of struggle and self-sacrifice. People with largeness of mind who are loyal, active and upright. People who never pursue selfish interests, but are wholeheartedly for the liberation of the nation and society. People who fear no difficulties, but remain steadfast and advance courageously in the face of difficulties. People who are neither high and mighty nor seekers after the limelight, but are conscientious and full of practical sense. If China has a host of such vanguard elements, the tasks of the Chinese revolution will be successfully fulfilled." Later, in Yenmu, he personally founded the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College. This college for training cadres gave top priority to transforming the students' ideology and keeping to the correct political orientation and placed it above all other work. And this college followed the Marxist-Leninist principles of combining theory with practice, combining education with productive labour and enabling intellectuals to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, schools in the base areas trained millions of revolutionary fighters, thereby making a great contribution to the victory of the Chinese revolution.

Liu Shao-chi, however, openly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and negated the experience of the old base areas in education. By "keeping it basically intact" he meant letting the landlord and capitalist classes continue to dominate our schools and turn them into instruments for restoring capitalism. In his brilliant works *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, both published in 1957, Chairman Mao systematically set forth the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and laid it down that "our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." Thanks to the efforts and struggle by Communist Party members, Communist Youth League members, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, some progress has been made on the educational front. The educational revolution that swept the country in 1958 dealt

a powerful blow at the old educational system. But until the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, owing to Liu Shao-chi's frenzied pursuance of the revisionist line in education, there was the serious situation on the educational front in which the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat. In view of this situation, Chairman Mao on May 7, 1966 issued the great call in the "May 7 Directive": "The length of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao were smashed and their revisionist line was repudiated. Beginning on July 27, 1966, Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams formed by workers and poor and lower-middle peasants along with the People's Liberation Army men entered the schools one after another in response to Chairman Mao's call. They seized back the leadership in the field of education, shattered the domination of schools by bourgeois intellectuals and created a new situation in educational revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has brought about fundamental changes in the political orientation of schools and in the way of running them, thus turning them into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat for implementing the Party's basic line and training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. After occupying the positions in education, the working class use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to transform the universities and colleges and conscientiously implement the policy that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour." In accordance with Chairman Mao's directive of July 21, 1968, reforms have been made in the university enrolment system so as to select students from among workers and peasants. Schools are run in an open-door way, and teachers and students are encouraged to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. A new generation of proletarian intellectuals are growing up and maturing. This profound change now taking place in the field of education demonstrates the tremendous vitality and broad prospects of the proletarian revolution in education.

It must be pointed out that the victory we have won is only the first step in a 10,000-li long march. Since schools have long been the "hereditary domain" of the exploiting classes, where intellectuals are found in large numbers, bourgeois pedagogical ideas and the old force of habit still have an extensive market there and the world outlook of most intellectuals is basically bourgeois. Such a state of affairs cannot be changed until after a considerably long period of time, and class struggle and the two-line struggle remain very acute in the field of education. There have been absurd talks recently in educational circles to the effect that the question of the orientation of educational revolution "has never been solved well." This is, in fact, a question of whether to keep to the orientation of educational revolution and carry the proletarian revolution in edu-

education through to the end or to reverse the previous verdicts on the revisionist line in education and restore the old educational system under which bourgeois intellectuals dominated our schools. Therefore, much arduous work remains to be done and much efforts have to be made if we are to stick to the orientation of educational revolution, occupy all the positions in education with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Take Class Struggle as the Key Link

To transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is imperative to take class struggle as the key link, uphold the Party's basic line, persist in criticizing revisionism, the bourgeoisie and the ideology of all exploiting classes. The Party's basic line tells us: Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. The positions in education constitute an important front in class struggle. "Bourgeois prejudices have struck very deep root among the teachers." (Lenin: *Speech Delivered at an All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers of Gubernia and Uyezd Education Departments*.) In China, the pernicious influence of the education of the feudal landlord class and the capitalist class and that of the revisionist line in education are both deep and widespread and intertwined. The landlord and capitalist classes have tried by hook or by crook to use this hereditary domain of education to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. Though criticized, the exploiting classes' ideas of looking down upon labour and practice such as "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed," "going to school in order to become an official," "knowledge is private property" and "giving first place to intellectual development" still have a market. And the landlord and capitalist classes and their agents have vainly tried to use these fallacies to corrupt the masses and poison the minds of young people, so as to achieve their counter-revolutionary aim of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. The Lin Biao anti-Party clique maliciously slandered school graduates integrating with the workers and peasants and settling in the countryside as "reform through forced labour in a disguised form" and the broad masses of cadres taking the May 7 road as "unemployment in a disguised form," and so forth. This was nothing but using bourgeois right to attack the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At present, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the educational front is still very fierce and acute. It is utterly wrong to say that the chief danger on the educational front at the moment is "not learning culture." Facts of class struggle on

this front have proved that revisionism remains the main danger today. "One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism." (Mao Tsetung: *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*.) The Party's basic line is the lifeline of the Party and state. Only by firmly grasping class struggle as the key link and implementing at all times the Party's basic line can we guide the struggle along its course of development to victory and do a good job in our educational work.

Strengthen Working-Class Leadership Over Schools

To transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to consolidate and strengthen working-class leadership over the schools. In the 17 years from the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to 1965, the year before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started, the revisionist line held sway and the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat in the realm of education. To restore capitalism, Liu Shao-chi and his like did everything they could to oppose proletarian leadership over the schools. They preached that "non-professionals cannot lead the professionals" and pushed the principle of "professors governing schools." This resulted in the monopolization of our schools by the bourgeois intellectuals.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "To accomplish the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working class leadership; the masses of workers must take part in this revolution and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, form a revolutionary three-in-one combination with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in schools and colleges, who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and will always lead these institutions. In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class." This instruction of Chairman Mao's is our sharp weapon for thoroughly smashing the bourgeois educational system and our basic guarantee for creating a proletarian educational system.

The question of leadership is the fundamental question of the revolution in education. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie centring around this question is protracted and acute. Recently there is a fallacious saying that "it is necessary to have non-professionals keen on science to exercise leadership." The essence of this fallacy is to oppose working-class leadership over the schools. The working class is the most revolutionary class. Only by exercising working-class leadership over the schools can the old educational

system be thoroughly reformed and the proletarian revolution in education be carried through to the end. In response to Chairman Mao's call, mighty contingents of the working class marched to the schools and put an end to the situation in which the schools were long dominated by bourgeois intellectuals. The working class has led the revolutionary teachers and students in constantly criticizing the old educational system and the revisionist line in education, and splendid achievements have been obtained. Practice in the past few years has testified to the fact that it is necessary to wholeheartedly rely on the working class and strengthen working-class leadership over school education if the schools are to be transformed in conformity with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

"The leading role of the proletariat is realized through the leadership of the Communist Party." The Chinese Communist Party is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard of the proletariat. Therefore, to consolidate working-class leadership in the educational field, it is imperative to strengthen Party leadership. All work in the schools must be placed under the centralized leadership of the Party; only in this way can Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies be put into effect and the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat be fulfilled in every school.

Take the Path of Integrating With Workers And Peasants

To transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to adhere to the policy of open-door education and take the path of integrating with workers and peasants. The basic channel for the intellectuals to remould their world outlook is to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and to be re-educated by them. Chairman Mao has on several occasions stressed the importance of intellectuals integrating themselves with workers and peasants and shown the concrete path to do so. Chairman Mao has said: "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants." He has also said that our professors and teachers are all educating the people and the students and that "being educators and teachers, they themselves must first be educated. And all the more so in the present period of great change in the social system." "One must learn from those engaged in production, from the workers, from the poor and lower middle peasants and, in schools, from the students, from those one teaches." After criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our educational system is undergoing a fundamental change. Open-door schooling under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has opened up broad vistas for the teachers and students to integrate themselves further with workers and peasants. In the past, the intellectuals used to bury themselves in books and were divorced from workers and peasants, from physical labour and from practice.

Now this situation has been changed. They go to factories, to the countryside and to army units to learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers and receive education by them. This has greatly speeded up the remoulding of the world outlook of the intellectuals. Facts prove that integration with workers and peasants is an indispensable way in training and bringing up proletarian intellectuals.

In open-door schooling, while the students' "main task is to study, they should also learn other things, that is to say, they should not only learn book knowledge, they should also learn industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs. They also should criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie." Through taking part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, the students study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, raise their consciousness in class struggle and the two-line struggle and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and enhance their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. At the same time, under the command of proletarian politics, they devote themselves to their professional studies, learn advanced science and technology, both domestic and foreign, and dare to make innovations. In this way they become staunch fighters in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, and workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. Those who distort open-door schooling as "not learning culture" and as "practice — practice — practice" are merely slandering the masses of teachers and students who firmly take the path pointed out in the "May 7 Directive."

Unite, Educate and Remould the Intellectuals

To transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to build up a contingent of proletarian teachers who are both socialist minded and professionally proficient, and do a good job in uniting, educating and remoulding the intellectuals. In his *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, Chairman Mao used the Marxist method of class analysis to make a scientific analysis of the basic situation regarding intellectuals in China. He pointed out there are three sections of intellectuals, the left wing, the intermediate section and the right wing; and their attitude towards Marxism is resolute, wavering and antagonistic respectively. Those who are relatively familiar with Marxism and take a firm stand — the stand of the proletariat — are a minority. But they are the nucleus and a powerful force. The majority is still in an intermediate state. They support socialism and are willing to serve the people, but their world outlook is still basically bourgeois. They support Marxism, but are not familiar with it. Their stand is not yet firm and they vacillate in moments of stress. The number who are hostile to our state and strongly oppose Marxism is very small. The struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the ideological and

political fronts in the past ten years and more, and particularly the practice of the Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius testify that this analysis of Chairman Mao's is entirely correct. Negating this analysis is tantamount to negating the necessity for the intellectuals to remould their world outlook.

The basic question confronting the intellectuals is still the change in their bourgeois world outlook. Chairman Mao has said: "Most of our present intellectuals come from the old society and from families of non-working people. Even those who come from workers' or peasants' families are still bourgeois intellectuals because the education they received before liberation was a bourgeois education and their world outlook was fundamentally bourgeois. If they do not discard the old and replace it by the proletarian world outlook, they will remain different from the workers and peasants in their viewpoint, stand and feelings, and will be like square pegs in round holes, and the workers and peasants will not open their hearts to them." To meet the needs of socialist revolution and construction, the intellectuals must continue to study hard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, be determined to discard their bourgeois world outlook and replace it by proletarian world outlook. They should not stop halfway or, what is worse, slip back, for there will be no future for them in going backwards. The intellectuals,

as Chairman Mao has taught us, "need remoulding, and not only those who have not changed their basic stand; everybody should study and remould himself." And this includes us worker-peasant-soldier students. We, too, should remould our world outlook, and this should be placed above everything else. We should exert great efforts to remould our world outlook, so as to play our role in attending university, managing it and transforming it with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a still better way.

* * *

The proletarian revolution in education is a profound social revolution; it is a struggle on the educational front in which the proletariat triumphs over the bourgeoisie and Marxism over revisionism. "There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction." We must take class struggle as the key link and use the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as our weapon in resolutely repudiating the erroneous trend which negates the revolution in education. We must uphold Party leadership in education, persist in putting proletarian politics in command and persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure and transform schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ES General Line: A Brief Explanation

The article "Transform Schools Into Instruments of Proletarian Dictatorship" (Peking Review, March 12, 1976) discusses how the Chinese Communist Party's general line of continuing the revolution to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in all areas of society serves as a guide to work in the schools. What is proposed here is a general line to guide our work in the Ethnic Studies Program. Why do we work in Ethnic Studies? How do we teach? What are our goals in terms of student development? These questions are answered by the general line.

A general line proceeds from a class stand. Part I takes a materialist viewpoint, investigates the concrete economic, political, and social conditions in our society and in the world today and puts forth our understanding of what needs to be done. Part I applies the method of dialectical and historical materialism to the development of society to reveal what is the key link in social change. Class analysis lines up the balance of class forces and the 2 opposing lines regarding the capitalist social order. Taking all this into account, Part I lays down which class Ethnic Studies stands with, which line guides our work, and what method of work we use.

Part II applies the method of dialectical and historical materialism to education in the capitalist system to define what is the relationship of education to the two classes. Part II lays out the 2 lines that contend in education and the dialectical relationship between education and the status quo. Part II puts forward which line we carry out in Ethnic Studies, stemming from our class stand.

Part III lays out our strategy and tactics for carrying out class struggle, 2-line struggle, on the educational front. It defines what kind of students we want to develop and what kind of relation we want to develop between the UH community and the 2 classes in society.

Part IV put forth the principles that should govern relations among ourselves and with students. It is the style of work that will enable us to carry out our general line in the most effective and principled manner.

(See also "Summation of Discussion on General Line on Monday, February 16, 1976," DISCUSSION PAPERS FOR WORKSHOP ON GENERAL LINE FOR PROGRAM, Packet No. 1.)

PAST GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR ETHNIC STUDIES

- A. Presentation at Program Review, January 13, 1975
 - The Ideology of the Program
 - Political Work in the Program
 - Organizational
 - Flow Chart
- B. Excerpt on Goals and Objectives submitted to UH Administration
for Program Review - Spring 1974
- C. Diagrams Charting, Academic Work & Mass Work, Spring 1974
(At this time both were seen as separate areas of work)
- D. A Message to Our Students - Principles of ES
Fall 1972

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE PROGRAM

What are the guiding principles of the Ethnic Studies Program? What are our goals and objectives?

Following is a summary of our ideology as it has grown and developed in the past two years from fall 1972 until today, January, 1975.

WHAT IS IDEOLOGY?

Ideology is a "set of ideas with action consequences." It is both a manner of thinking and a guide to action.

Ideology has 3 component parts--Theory (manner of thinking)

--Program (guide to action)

--Strategy (guide to action)

WHAT IS OUR THEORY?

Our theory is derived from the sum experiences of all of man's fight to end man's oppression by man.

More specifically it is the most advanced theory developed by the working class movement. See handout for more detail.

WHAT IS OUR PROGRAM?

The PROGRAM of an organization are its goals--it is the target that we are shooting for. In order to be successful, our program should be scientifically formulated on the basis of the most advanced theory and data.

In its most general form, our program calls for the building of a true people's society. See handout for specifics.

WHAT IS OUR STRATEGY?

Strategy is the plan of action designed to achieve the aims of our program. The strategy of the ethnic studies program was developed in the course of our struggle. Our strategy was formulated on the basis of our experiences more than it was based on theory. Theory has tended to lag behind our practice and thus did not give us much guidance in our work.

Our strategy was also developed specifically for an educational program that operated within the context of the University administration, the state apparatus, the student body of Manoa campus, and the progressive movement in Hawaii. As such it was not meant to be all-encompassing but merely defined our role as an instrument of progressive education.

With all this in mind we can look at our strategy as it has developed thru 2 1/2 years of struggle. The strategy of the ESP can be formulated in a single slogan:

OUR HISTORY, OUR WAY!

"Our History, Our Way" was the rallying cry of the people's movement that saved the ESP and developed it to what we have now. Implied in this

fulfill the UH administration/faculty requirements for a University program and building a sound academic base (curriculum, resources, research, staff expertise)

- b. Getting the students involved in their education and in the struggle. Recruiting them into the program and into action projects.
- c. Serving the needs of the community--integrating academics with the struggles in the community (both in neighborhoods and on the job site). This means running action projects that support community struggles, bringing community people into the classrooms, taking students into the communities.
- d. And generally, utilizing a style of work that raises consciousness, builds unity, and broadens our ranks. See "Principles of Ethnic Studies" and the rest of the review presentation.

This then is a summary of the Program's IDEOLOGY

POLITICAL WORK IN THE PROGRAM INVOLVES:

- (1) First Taking the ideas of the students.
Assessing the level of understanding of the students through investigation.
(Bio-sketches, autobiographies, questionnaire, conferences)

Level of some students: passivity, individualism, isolated from the problems of the people, lack of social analysis, Misconceptions.
- (2) Second Summarizing these ideas and taking the ideas to a higher level.
Presenting our theory and analysis through combining it with their ideas and experiences, relating our theory and analysis in concrete terms so that it has relevance to their lives.

We derive our theory and analysis from our use in our political work from
 Investigating and summarizing the experiences of:
 (a) International, national and local people in their struggles for social change (books, reports, papers, pamphlets, interviews, etc.)
 (b) Experiences of program people.
 (c) Our past practice with the students and the community.
 (d) Investigation of objective historical and contemporary conditions.

(Consideration when course plans are developed)
- (3) Third Taking ideas back to the students, winning them over.
Developing a progressive social analysis by:
 (a) Struggling against misconceptions and correcting them.
 (b) Bringing them closer to the problems of the people.
 (c) Providing them with tools for analysis of the society (theory).

(Through lectures, labs, readings, assignments, projects, activities.)
- (4) Fourth Translating the ideas into action.
Combining development of progressive social analysis with practice.

(Labs. assignments, projects, activities.)

The objective of our political work in the Program is to encourage students to participate in progressive social activism by raising their level of understanding and consciousness.

POLITICAL WORK CORRECT METHODS OF WORK

WHY COLLECTIVE WORK?

Since we understand that our knowledge about Hawaii is a result of study and practice and that one person's work and experience is limited, we need to sum up the experiences of as many people as possible to get a fuller understanding about the conditions in Hawaii. (e.g. We have people in ES from many areas of work; we should sum up that work and apply that to our work in ES.)

If we see our knowledge as a developmental process to improve our courses, it is necessary to share our experiences and skills, learn from our past mistakes. One person's understanding of a particular subject, say, labor history, or of a particular skill will be of limited use if that skill is not shared so that it can be taught to others.

Working collectively also means greater efficiency and greater potential manpower if organized correctly. Division of labor could be used to tackle a task at hand, where each person does a part of the whole.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO WORK COLLECTIVELY?

To work collectively means to work responsibly -- to look at what is best for the course or the program first rather than what suits one's own personal needs. Living in a capitalist society has ingrained in us such tendencies as individualism and liberalism. Individualism and liberalism are corrosives that eat away at the unity of our Program; we will not be able to put forth effective courses with sloppy, liberal work methods. We can see the effects of liberalism in such instances as procrastinating in the preparation of a lecture so that delivery is poor, concepts are not well developed and data is shoddy to leaving a mess in the work room after completing your own leaflet for outside political work. We should be more considerate of others and be more responsible and accountable to our respective courses and to the program.

SOME PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF STAFF MEMBERS TO THE ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAM AND TO THEIR RESPECTIVE STAFFS

1. Be early / Be on time. On a staff of 17 people, for every five minutes you are late, you waste 80 minutes or an hour and 20 minutes of other people's time. If you cannot possibly make it to a meeting, call ahead of time, not after the group has been waiting for you for awhile.

2. Abide by group decisions / Remember group agreements. Group decisions are the product of the group's best judgement (which is not to say that the group is always right or that the decision is inflexible.) If you disagree during a group discussion but fail to bring it up during that discussion and choose to raise it at a later time (in a small group or at the next meeting) is also a failure to be honest and open and a failure to understand what it means to work collectively.

ORGANIZATIONAL

I. General Discussion on Methods of Work and Organizational Structure:

In order to correct some of the weaknesses outlined earlier it involves reassessing two things; 1) methods of work and 2) organizational structure. The organizational structure of the Ethnic Studies Program (ESP) must be adapted to our style of work if we are to be efficient.

A. Methods of Work:

- 1) Discipline-- accountability
- 2) Principled struggle-- Unity-Criticism-Unity or criticizing others constructively and recognizing and struggling against your own weaknesses.
- 3) Democratic and centralist structure of organization.
- 4) Scientific methodology-- Dialectical & Historical Materialism
- 5) Mass line-- taking ideas, wishes, and experiences of the masses, summarizing these ideas and taking the ideas to a higher level, then taking these ideas back to the masses and winning them over to these new ideas.

B. Organizational Structure: for an organization such as ESP adapted to a form of class struggle we must consider such things as:

- 1) Membership
- 2) Leadership
- 3) Decision making
- 4) Communications
- 5) Division of labor
- 6) Activist development

II. Charts Presentation and Discussion: relations with in Ethnic Studies and relations to overall society.

III. Proposal presentation, small group discussion and recommendation: The steering committee has four proposals to help ESP become more efficient in the future.

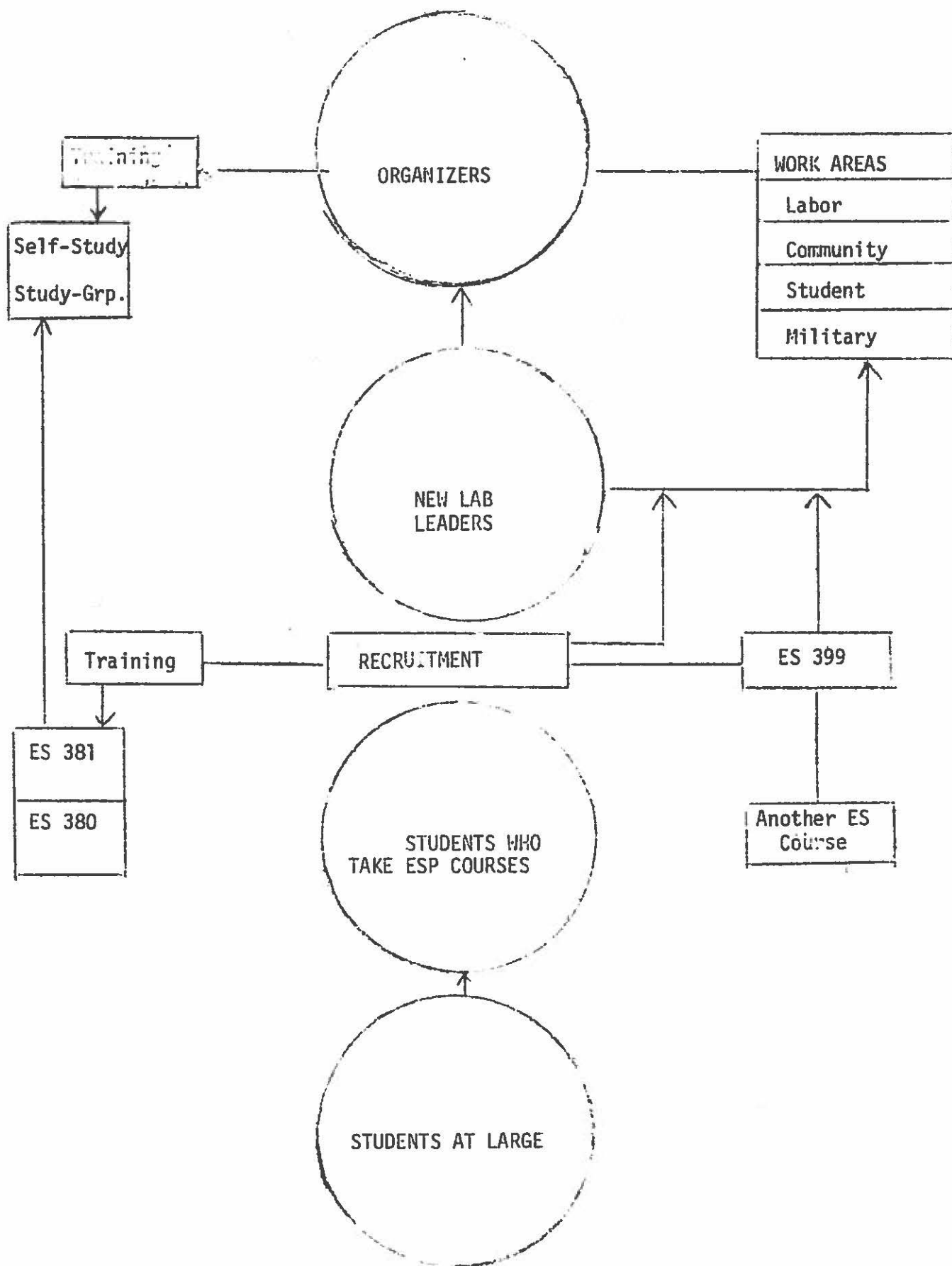
- 1) Leadership
 - a) each staff elects leadership - part of steering committee
 - b) all final decisions to be made by steering committee with discussion taking place by courses.
 - c) representation composition to be decided
- 2) Lab Leader Training
 - a) free people to spend time to do it - 380 or 381
 - b) develop a lab leader manual to include - major program decisions, chronology of main points, ideological goals, lab leader techniques, resources available
 - c) Political Education, teaching techniques
 - d) set minimum criteria -- what to master and progression in terms of training to apply to all lab leaders at different levels
- 3) Resource Development
 - a) hire someone to keep resource room in order
 - b) hired on the extra lab position from the Japanese course
 - c) Courses are to keep files of readings and handouts up to date
- 4) Summer Research Institute
 - a) to develop new, updated, original materials
 - b) assign people to develop Grant proposal - a committee from courses

EXPLANATION OF THE FLOW CHART

Starting at the bottom of the chart is the student body at large, approximately 25,000 students. Of that amount, between 550-600 students take the program. Of those who take the program between 6-12 students may be recruited into the program as new lab leaders. Another 12 to 24 people may take ES 399, 380, or 381, or be recruited directly into one of the 4 work areas. Another significantly larger group of students may take another ES course. The new lab leaders are probably already linked up with one of the 4 work areas. If they are not they should be encouraged to do so. Also new lab leaders should be encouraged to enroll in ES 380 and/or ES 381 as part of their training. Additionally, new lab leaders should also be encouraged to join a study group and carry on self-study. New lab leaders will become organizers as they begin to contribute to the political direction of the various struggles ongoing in the 4 work areas. They should also be expected to give direction to their particular course and the further development of the program. They should also be expected to direct and lead study.

Organizers thus produced should fulfill the task of consolidating and strengthening the program. Having accomplished this as best as the circumstances permit the organizer should probably phase him or herself out of the program, and work full time in one of the work areas. The priority being given to the labor areas at this time.

FLOW CHART



INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM REVIEW

SPRING 1974

NOTE: This is the Program review that we as a staff submitted to the UHM faculty. It is useful in seeing the kind of language we use in describing our goals when we talk to faculty and administration.

1. OUR HISTORY, OUR WAY: To further develop the academic discipline of Ethnic Studies in Hawaii.

- a. "A man without knowledge of his heritage is like a tree without roots." The Ethnic Studies Program fills a critical void in the education of any local student who has grown up in a community as rich as Hawaii in both the traditions brought here by many peoples and the fusing of these traditions into the unique multi-ethnic community that is Hawaii.
- b. The opportunities this affords for social and cross-cultural study is limitless. In turn, the development of such a field of study not only has unmeasurable value for the people of Hawaii, but offers a gateway to understand and participate in the building of the emerging Pacific Community.

The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory could be said to be the first pioneer of Ethnic Studies in Hawaii. It was a beginning in defining and developing a discipline that would record and analyse the experiences and conditions of the people of Hawaii. For the first time an academic program sought to discern the uniqueness and diversity of each of the major ethnic groups that comprise Hawaii's people.

- c. The passing of the Romanzo Adams school and its scholars--Adams, Lind, Glick, Hormann--brought an end to the development of this discipline. But it did not bring an end to the community need for such a program.
- d. Spurred by student demand and later a Legislative mandate, the faculty and administration created the present Ethnic Studies Program in 1969. From then to now it has been an uphill battle to carry on the work begun by those earlier sociologists, to develop the discipline to a higher level, and to respond to the students' and community's demands for a program of their own.
- e. This was achieved in 1972 when the Program staff was finally composed of a majority of local born educators--who had both an indigenous understanding of the experiences being studied and a motivation to develop a program that would meet the community's needs. They re-affirmed the view that an Ethnic Studies discipline could best be developed by keeping the study of each ethnic group together under one departmental organization. This enabled the free interchange and coordination of research,

data, analysis and methods so critically needed for a fledgling discipline and necessary for the proper study and teaching of an interdisciplinary reality.

- f. The work in developing materials has been limited to the semester-to-semester teaching loads. This is perhaps a major weakness as there are many gaps in the materials, understanding, analysis of the Ethnic experience in Hawaii.

2. **DECOLONIZE OUR PEOPLE:** To develop the affective value of Ethnic Studies as a subject.

- a. Beyond the standard acquisition of data, analysis, and methodology, the Ethnic Studies Program has the added value to the student in building a sense of one's history, of finding one's roots, and of developing a positive sense of identity. This positive identity is especially important for those students who have conflict within themselves and in contact with others because of their skin color and cultural background.
- b. It is in the context of the 200 level courses that we also attempt to develop the affective side to Ethnic Studies. Pride and dignity in one's past is developed; but not at the expense of also appreciating the history and accomplishments of other ethnic groups. An understanding of Hawaiian history helps give direction to lab discussions on what is local culture, what is a local, the problem of self-hatred, etc. Another aspect of understanding one's roots is to see the history of ethnic groups as a history of struggle to better oneself and Hawaii. It follows that struggles to solve contemporary problems is just part of a continuum of struggles by our ancestors. So an examination of contemporary Hawaii and its problems is also a part of the 200 level courses.
- c. This affective value was possible not only because of the content and the perspective this content is presented in, but the fact that the Program's policy is to hire and integrate students into its staff. These are students who have grown up in Hawaii and for whom the ethnic experience is a past and present reality. For example, the Japanese Ethnic Studies course, which is composed of 90% students of Japanese ancestry, have predominantly Japanese student labo leaders. The Hawaiian course has Hawaiian lab leaders and the Pilipino course has Pilipino lab leaders. This enables the staff to develop materials that are first of all relevant and interesting and to secondly develop meaningful interaction with students in the course.

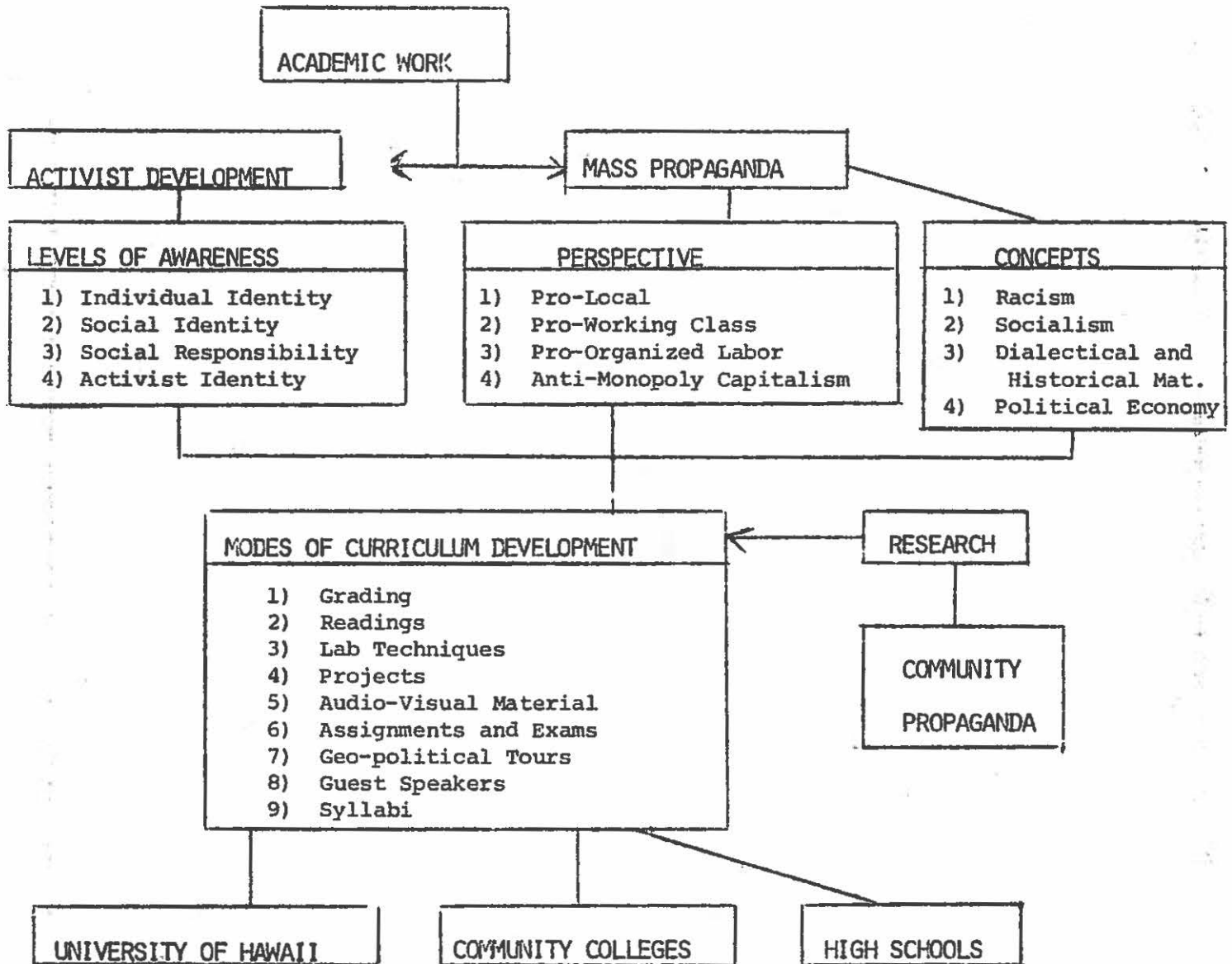
3. **EDUCATE TO LIBERATE:** to develop educational methodology to present the materials in a meaningful way.

- a. The Program recognizes that developing the materials is only half the task--conveying it in an interesting and relevant manner is another major task.

ANALYSIS OF ACADEMIC WORK: DEFINITION OF TERMS, WORK AREAS, AND BROAD AIMS IN ACADEMIC WORK

Academic Work: agit/prop work done with students through courses

Role of Propaganda: expose the contradictions of capitalism and direct people to participate in progressive social activism



NOTES ON THE MASS WORK COMMITTEE REPORT TO PROGRAM ON JUNE 8, 1974

WHY MASS WORK - (1) Roots in the community
(2) Practical education

Past examples of Mass Work: 72 projects/ e.g. Coconut Grove results - lab leaders
leaflets, handouts

DEFINITIONS

Mass Work - Activist work
Mass Base - Grouping of people faced with an objective reality which requires collective action to meet definable needs.
Mass Contact - Working closely with people; knowing where they are
Mass Line - The political analysis which sums up people's objective and subjective condition and moves them to higher levels of understanding and participation.

INVOLVES - (1) Accountability
(2) Leadership

Note: Can have mass contact without mass work

PAST PRACTICE

Mass work has been done by program people on an individual basis and through projects.

Areas of Work: (1) Student (ES, UFW)
(2) Community
(3) Labor
(4) Military

Community Work: Development, eviction, improvement district, environmental
Special Interest: Welfare, Social Services, Operation Manong
Legislative Coalition, Third Arm

Labor Work: (1) Integration
(2) Support Work

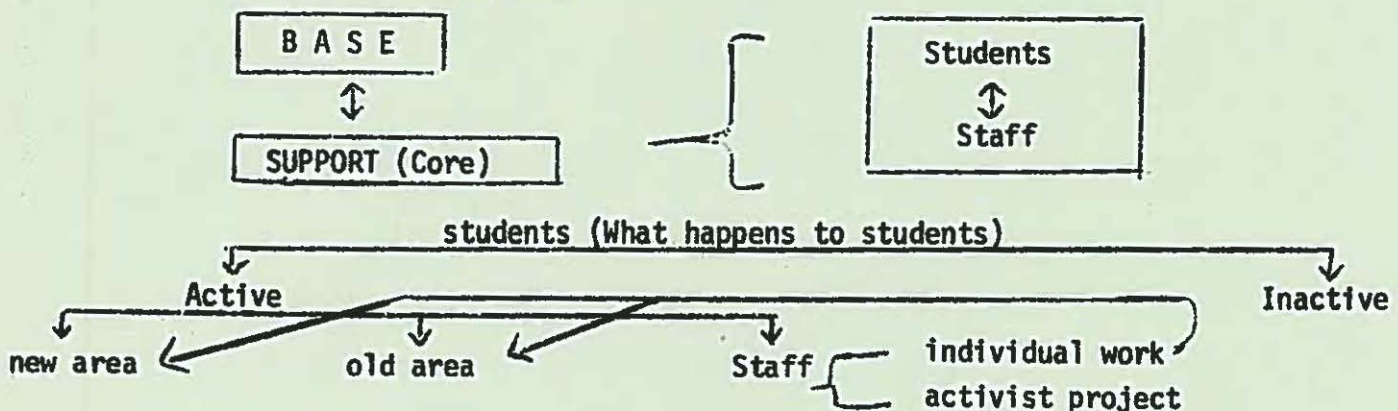
HOW AN ACTIVIST PROJECT IS SET UP

Two Aspects -- Student Development

Questions: (1) Who goes where?
(2) What is the level of the students
(3) How you want students to develop
(4) Relation to work

PROJECT

Work Itself
(1) Evaluate work going on in Hawaii



A Message To Our Students

The Ethnic Studies Program directly involves the students. It is the students that give life to the program and it will be the students that will insure the continued existence of the program at the University and the transformation of education into a force that serves the community and our people. It is students that will give their time and energy to produce materials for the program and for their communities. In a real sense the staff and faculty are also students as we have much to learn about the living history of Hawaii and the development and struggles of people around the world. Knowing this we are building the program on the following principles.

Principles of Ethnic Studies

1. Development of social consciousness--emphasis on our ability to work together and contribute to each other's learning process rather than on individual performance.
2. Democracy and Self-determination--integrating student and community into the administration, decision making, and teaching and learning process of the program.
3. Teaching by discussion and application of knowledge rather than by rote--open book examinations with emphasis on ability to find and co-ordinate knowledge rather than memorizing materials. Assignments that contribute to the program and community rather than a regurgitation of lectures and readings.
4. People's history--history is made by people and their struggles for social development. Our role, even in the classrooms, is to participate in making history.
5. Practicality--course materials must be directed towards solving practical and pressing problems we face. We learn through application of knowledge to solving problems and making history.
6. Egalitarianism--no teacher/student roles. We must all teach each other and learn from one another. Education must be for everyone, not just for the rich, the privileged, the talented. If anything, our role as staff is to serve the interests of the students and community.
7. Welcome criticism--our performance must be criticized and evaluated by all of us. Continuous effort must be made to improve course content, analysis, delivery of materials and lab discussions.
8. Fight alienation--education is a human process. We must be concerned with the welfare of the students.
9. Development of new materials--an emphasis will be made researching and recording new materials to develop a deeper and truer understanding of our history.
10. Enlargement of the program--a commitment to the development of Ethnic Studies programs in high schools, community colleges and everywhere our people are.

Built on these principles, built on the interests of students and the community, the Ethnic Studies Program can be strong and effectively serve the people of Hawaii.

Adopted - September 11, 1972

By the Ethnic Studies Program Staff

IV. ORGANIZATION AND DECISION-MAKING IN THE PROGRAM

- A. Organizational Forms in the Program
(Chronology-Fall, 1972 - Fall, 1974)
- B. Sum-up and Evaluation of Steering Committee's Work
Fall, 1974 (basis for Steering Committee Proposal of Spring, 1975)
- C. Decision-Making Process Approved on April 7, 1975
- D. Criteria for Hiring New Staff in the Program

ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS IN THE PROGRAM

I. Chronology of forms of organization in the ES Program

- A. Combination standing committee and ad hoc committee--Fall 72, Spring 73.
- B. Ad Hoc Committees--Fall 73.
- C. Ad Hoc Committees and two leadership bodies--Spring 74.
- D. Liason/Co-ordinating committee--Fall 74.
- E. Steering committee proposed--Spring 75.

II. Narrative

A. COMBINATION STANDING COMMITTEE AND AD HOC COMMITTEE

Summer was ending and school was about to start when many of the ES faculty resigned around the Jim Anthony issue. The only people left in the program was the 20-30 students who had been active in the struggle and the few local faculty. We were left with building the program--academically and organizationally--from scratch.

As many of us didn't know each other or had not yet developed enough trust and respect in each other, the organization of the program had to be fully democratic. All decisions were made at mass meetings of program people. We formed both standing committees and ad hoc committees to deal with tasks and issues as they came up. The committees role was generally to research and investigate issues, then to develop proposals for presentation to the program. The program would then make all final decisions.

Not knowing how to run a University program we dealt with problems collectively as they came up. Whenever a problem arose, we would form a committee. Thus we had 5 standing committees and about 5 ad hoc committees, 10 committees in all. It got to a point when people were on 3 or 4 committees at once and were getting ineffective (and confused).

By now we had enough experience to know that there were only 3 areas of concern in the program in which we could categorize all other tasks. We then consolidated the various committees into 3 committees--Academic Affairs, Administrative Affairs, and Community and Student Involvement Committee. We also required everyone in the program to be a member of one of these committees. Now when a problem came up, it was referred to the proper committee.

Meetings of the program as a whole were still the highest decision making body in the program--committees still had to check with the program staff before taking action.

B. PURELY AD HOC COMMITTEES

During Jerry Chun's régime, from Fall 73 to Spring 74, we reverted back to a purely ad hoc form of organization.

Meetings of the program staff as a whole continued but there were no standing committees. My analysis of why we never continued with the standing committees is this:

- 1) The standing committees began to break down towards the end of the last academic year. The same people showed up to the meetings and did all the work. They began to resent the lack of participation by other people.
- 2) The administrative work of the program was now handled by Jerry Chun who kept on top of the administration of the Program. Nancy Young, the first director, on the other hand, had left the administration to the administrative committee.
- 3) Program people began to concentrate most of their effort in building up their own courses, now that the administration of the program seemed to be in capable hands.
- 4) Jerry Chun began to rely on an informal leadership cliché to make decisions which would otherwise have been brought up to the entire staff.

Ad Hoc committees were established around specific tasks--such as lobbying, evaluations, etc. This seemed to work smoothly for the first semester, until we began to realize that there was many things we had to do as a program which wouldn't be done by individual courses and couldn't be done by Jerry. We set up two "leadership" bodies--one in Academic work and one on Mass work.

The actual proposal reads:

"This proposal is not meant to be the answer to all our problems. It recognizes that the staff has set out two major areas that the program must develop--academics and mass work. This proposal is also only a beginning step in a lengthy process of uniting and consolidating the staff around a program of action that will develop both academics and mass work.

"We suggest that two separate leadership bodies be set up to provide direction in two areas: ~~xxx~~ academic development and development of mass work.

"Their job ~~ix~~ will be to review what has been done in each area, evaluate the results, summarize the major lessons, propose a new and realistic course of action, and then organize a work team to carry out this course of action. This would then involve most ~~xxxx~~ of the people in the program." (April 4, 1974)

These leadership bodies were ~~xxx~~ meant to organize and give direction to specific tasks in academic and mass work. It was not meant to be "leadership" for the program. Program meetings as a whole still was the highest decision making body.

C. LIASON/CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE PROPOSED

At a review during the summer of 1974, we proposed the formation of a liason/co-ordinating committee. The proposal reads:

"Proposal for the implementation and follow-up to be carried out by one new co-ordinating committee (disband the mass work and academic work committees)

--Composition: one representative from each of the courses to be appointed by each of the courses.

--functions: communications; exchange of information; encourage ~~xx~~ classes to adopt certain kinds of projects and work methods; review and discuss course work; set up a periodic review of the program."
(June 8, 1974)

The two leadership bodies were disbanded for these reasons:

1. The Academic work committee conducted a thorough review of the program's academic work and submitted:

- a) A list of priorities which should be followed up on by the new liason/co-ordinating committee.
- b) A proposal that periodic reviews be carried out and organized by the LC committee.

2. The mass work committee proposed the formation of two caucuses-- a caucus of community work people composed of people ~~xx~~ involved in community work and a labor caucus, composed of lab leaders in labor work.

Thus there was no longer any need to continue these two leadership bodies. The new Liason/co-ordinating committee took up the task of following thru on the Academic Work committee's proposal. A labor caucus was formed and the Grass Roots Coalition core group was the community caucus.

People have come to mistakenly call the liason/co-ordinating committee the STERRING COMMITTEE. In theory it is not a steering committee, but in practice it has concerned itself with the direction of the program.

SUM - UP AND EVALUATION OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE'S WORK

INTRODUCTION: In summing-up and evaluating the work of the Steering Committee, we first discussed the format that we should follow. We decided to use the same format that was used in the General Program Review.

We organized discussion around summing-up and evaluating our work in each of the three major areas: (1) IDEOLOGY (2) POLITICAL WORK, AND (3) ORGANIZATIONAL WORK.

Under each area we discussed and evaluated: (1) What Was Set Out To Do, (2) What We Did, (3) What Should Be Done, and (4) How we related this to our staffs. We later had a separate discussion on our methods of work, overall.

DISCUSSION ON IDEOLOGY - *A MANNER OF THINKING AND AN OVERALL APPROACH AND MANNER OF ACTION. "A set of ideas with action consequences"*

WHAT SET OUT TO DO We were unclear on what our role in providing ideological direction should be. There was no statement on what it should be.

WHAT DID (1) We held discussions to clarify priorities for program work and to resolve differences in program work. In the discussions we decided to hold-off on setting priorities until we reviewed our work in all areas. We therefore decided to set up four reviews in Spring on the four areas of work -- military, community, labor and students.
 (2) We planned and developed the program review.
 (3) Because of the lack of clarity on our responsibility, we failed to initiate work and discussion in this area of work until the review. We did not feel prepared to take up the issue until the other reviews were completed. As a result, programs for P.E. and policies on criteria for hiring was not developed until the review. In terms of setting priorities, the decision will determine and commit program resources for expansion in identified areas, for example expansion into the community colleges, expansion into higher division courses, expansion into original publication. Expansion in one area may affect work in another area if we do not carefully plan.
 (4) Much of our work here was accomplished in carrying out the program review where we began to set out tasks for ourselves and the staff and to identify responsibilities in terms of implementation.

WHAT SHOULD DO Provide ideological leadership to the program by providing exemplary practice by insuring full discussion and struggle within the program and by summing up the advanced ideas that come out of these discussions and in this way develop common ideology and a program of action.

RELATION TO COURSES Most representatives did not initiate discussion within their courses on ideology in relation to program work. ES 221 had discussion in preparation for the review. ES 203 also had some discussions.

SUM - UP AND EVALUATION REPORT - page two

DISCUSSION ON POLITICAL WORK - *TAKING THE IDEAS OF THE STAFF, SUMMARIZING THESE IDEAS AND TAKING THE IDEAS TO A HIGHER LEVEL; TAKING IDEAS BACK TO THE STAFF, WINNING THEM OVER; TRANSLATING THESE IDEAS INTO ACTION.*

WHAT SET OUT TO DO

- (1) Pull resources together.
- (2) Set priorities in carrying out tasks.
- (3) Communication, exchange of information
- (4) Organization of projects and selection of projects to reflect priorities in political work.
- (5) Brief staffs on program concerns
- (6) Encourage adoption of good work methods.
- (7) Set up periodic reviews of program and course work.
- (8) Implement program decisions.

WHAT DID

- (1) Initiated pulling resources together but did not complete.
- (2) Had discussion on priorities from which we decided to plan four reviews in Spring as a means of initiating discussion in these areas and setting priorities in work.
- (3) Superficial communication and exchange of information among courses. Not all courses representatives came to all meetings. But it was a definite improvement over last year.
- (4) No co-ordinated organizing of projects selection.
- (5) Relations to staffs -- Briefing of staffs by representatives was sporadic.
- (6) Did not attempt to encourage adoption of good work methods until the time of the review. (also Davi's memo)
- (7) Held Program Review -- at this time initiated discussions and formulated positions on certain aspects of work.
- (8) Implementation of decisions was left largely to Dave -- not all decisions have been implemented. committees were set up at times but not all committees functioned.
- (9) Held discussion on what the program's position and role should be in the Porteus Issue.

WHAT SHOULD DO Should do what was identified as "What set out to do"

DISCUSSION ON ORGANIZATIONAL WORK - *HOW THE PEOPLE IN THE PROGRAM ARE ORGANIZED TO CARRY OUT THE WORK AND TO IMPLEMENT THE THE "IDEOLOGY" AND "POLITICAL WORK" OF THE PROGRAM*

WHAT SET OUT TO DO

- (1) Provide and develop agenda and proposals for consideration by staff in general meetings on policies, direction and positions in order to prepare staff members to participate in decision-making at general meetings where all final decisions were made.
- (2) To facilitate decision-making by staff members.

WHAT DID

- (1) General staff got caught up in discussion of petty details which prolonged general meetings and made meetings boring. They were asked to approve minor issues.
- (2) The staffs were not adequately prepared to discuss the leadership proposal at the program review.
- (3) Set policies on paper use, criteria for hiring, hiring procedure, honoraria and role and responsibilities of director.
- (4) Prepared budget proposal and made recommendations on budget.

- (5) Committees did not function.
- (6) Followed through on legal aid grant proposal discussion.
- (7) Did not follow up on core requirements, degree proposal or developing new courses. Set aside establishing priorities for expansion until 4 reviews were completed.
- (8) Where no policies existed, Davi found it difficult to decide a course of action -- called upon steering committee to recommend policies that were decided by general staff.

WHAT SHOULD
DO

- (1) Prepare proposals for staff to make decisions
- (2) Have general staff discuss major decisions, make decisions on more minor matters in committee. (This is referred to in discussion on leadership proposal that follows)
- (3) Have general meetings flow more smoothly and dynamically.
- (4) Have different people rotate chairing meeting.
- (5) Perhaps should have committee to work on administrative affairs together with the director.
- (6) Establish policies and procedures where needed -- e.g. hiring procedure.
- (7) Should follow up on decisions and tasks which have been identified.
- (8) Should have minutes of meeting and agenda circulated before meetings. (as much in advance as possible)

DISCUSSION ON
WORK METHODS

First, the committee discussed what the role of the members should be. Basically, members are responsible to represent their staffs in the steering committee and to represent the steering committee in their staffs:

- (1) Their roles within the staffs:
 - (a) Keep staffs briefed on Program business
 - (b) Implement policies
- (2) Their role within the Steering Committee
 - (a) Keep steering committee briefed on developments within the individual courses in relation to the University, community, class and project work, including political differences.
 - (b) Inform the courses about good resources, contacts and upcoming activities when possible.

Secondly, we went around the room and gave self-criticism and criticism of our work methods within the steering committee. The major points are outlined here. The discussion in our work within the staffs as steering committee members will take place in the discussion with the staffs.

THE FOLLOWING
PROBLEMS WERE
IDENTIFIED:

- (1) Uncertainty on what should be followed up on with the courses staffs.
- (2) Different understandings of what happened in the meeting.
- (3) Did not struggle on what was not understood. Did not raise questions when did not understand.

- (4) Should ask questions to clarify points when discussion is not understood.
- (5) Should call or notify someone when you are going to be late.
- (6) Should take good notes and refer to notes in order to report to the course staff
- (7) Should raise differences that hinder working relations among staff members.
- (8) Should read minutes and prepare for discussions at meetings.

THE LEADERSHIP PROPOSAL

DISCUSSION The following points were raised and considered.

- (1) What is the role of leadership in the program.
 - (2) Under the proposal, how would we operate differently?
What difference would it make?
 - (3) Is it appropriate to make a change at this time?
 - (4) Is the staff ready to accept the proposal?
 - (5) Has the steering committee proven itself.
 - (6) What concerns do staff have with regard to the proposal?
- Much of this was raised in the review discussions.

CONCERNS OF STAFF The following seemed to be reflected in the expressed concerns:

- (1) That democratic input must be a part of central decision-making.
- (2) That the scope of decision-making be defined.
- (3) The above two concerns seem to reflect a misconception or not a full understanding as to how the committee should operate if it follows the principle of democracy and centralism. The role of the committee and the decision-making process needs to be clearly defined.
- (4) That leadership must not isolate themselves, become elitist or bureaucratic.
- (5) That the steering committee in its past work had become isolated in a sense for the staffs. They had failed to report back to the staffs on a consistent basis.
- (6) It also seems that there is not so much disagreement with the the proposal or with the persons on the steering committee or with the decisions that have been made so far. The more important concern is to insure participation and discussion and allow for democratic input as a part of the decision-making process, to have ideas and concerns contributed in the process.

PAST PRACTICE

The chronology of decision-making organizational forms in the program since it began shows that decision-making in the past has been on an ad hoc basis and unsystematic. This past semester was the first time that there was a steering committee. Originally it was set up to be a liaison/co-ordinating committee. However in practice it has become a steering committee in that it has taken up issues that affect the direction of the program. This is part of the reason for the unclearness on role and responsibility. The persons on the committee did not function nor were they made to feel the need to function as they would have to if final decisions will rest with the committee and their responsibility will be to report to the staffs, carry out a full discussion on the matters and report back to the steering committee. In the past, representatives reported what they felt was important. Under the new process they would have to report everything. In addition, course staffs will have to set aside and give the time to discussion of program matters.

- b. The Program takes the position that a student's grade is mostly a reflection of how well we have done our job in developing a meaningful educational experience for our students. For this reason we maintain a continuous open channel to solicit student feed-back and criticisms on course materials, presentations, and organization. Students are brought into curriculum design committees. Student evaluations are used every semester and taken seriously in evaluating our work. Every aspect of our courses are under continuous evaluation which has enabled us to make many important improvements.
 - c. The Program makes every effort to maintain a seminar atmosphere in all classes--even those with a hundred or more students. Use of varied methods such as slide shows, video tapes, field trips, panels, action projects as well as a major dependence on small student discussion groups, helps us to maintain a personal and dynamic educational experience.
 - d. Personal contact with the students is extremely important to the Program. Education is a human process that involves personal interchange.
- 4. SERVE THE PEOPLE: to develop and maintain an orientation among both Program faculty and students that academics cannot be separated from community needs--to continually offer assistance to the community and to be conscious of creating practical value in our work.
 - a. The Program makes a point to recruit staff members that are actively involved in communities outside the University. This not only enables them to bring an added dimension to the classroom but enables the Program to be more aware of and responsive to problems and issues that face Hawaii's ethnic communities.
 - b. Through field trips students are taken off campus and into various communities to obtain direct contact with the people and experiences they are learning about. Action projects take this a step further in enabling students to become involved in understanding and helping to solve ethnic problems.

SECONDARY OBJECTIVES

- 1. Develop a major in Ethnic Studies.
- 2. Publish new materials, republish select materials.
- 3. Open admissions to under-represented ethnic groups.
- 4. Provide services to community colleges, high schools, etc.
- 5. Maintain a functional resource center.
- 6. Get our 200 level courses approved as social science core requirements.
- 7. Open the university to the community.

DECISION MAKING PROCESS

With approved changes up to April 7, 1975

BASIC PRINCIPLES

1. Course staffs and Steering Committee representatives make a commitment to fully discuss and struggle over points, positions and issues.
2. Once a program has been fully discussed and struggled over and the Steering Committee reaches a decision, the decision is to be implemented by all members of the Program staff.
3. Should the experience of a course staff, in the process of implementing a decision, indicate that the particular decision is detrimental to the Program or any part of the Program, discussion on the item will be reopened by the Steering Committee following the same process that is followed to originate discussion on an item.

PROCESS

Step Number 1

Any staff member may submit items for the Steering Committee to discuss through their course representative.

Step Number Two

The Steering Committee will develop its own agenda. The representatives will however report to the staffs on all items that were suggested for discussion.

The intent is to allow the committee to decide what it will discuss and the order in which it will discuss the items - on the other hand, it assures that courses will be informed on all matters that are raised for discussion and that those persons who raise it for discussion be informed as to its status.

Step Number Three

All program items discussed by the Steering Committee will be presented for full discussion to each course. To facilitate this step:

- a. Representatives are to present a report on discussions in the Steering Committee as the final decision.
- b. The Steering Committee should point out which items they consider to be priorities for discussion.

Step Number 4.

Each course will exercise discretion as to what they want to discuss. The course representative can take his/her own position on items that the course staffs decide not to discuss and take a position on.

The principle is to allow courses discretion on whether to discuss all the points raised or just the major points. It allows the representative to take a position for the course based upon his/her assessment of what the position of the course would be. When the representative takes his/her own position on an issue the circumstance for the decision should be explained.

Step Number 5

The responsibility of the representative is to present both the minority and the majority positions of the members of his/her staff at the Steering Committee meeting; but to defend the majority position Steering Committee members may shift their decision after thorough discussion and ideological struggle. If there is radically new information introduced, then the decision should be postponed until it can be reported back to the courses for further discussion and their decisions.

Rationale

1. *The Steering Committee representative should defend the majority position of the course even if he/she does not agree, however, he/she should not be held to the position of the staff if after "thorough discussion and ideological struggle" another position seems to be more correct.*
2. *The Steering Committee should be a leading body rather than simply a representative body. If members are not allowed to change positions after thorough discussion and struggle then this will restrain the leadership of the committee. It would not have the power to provide leadership.*
3. *It is important to develop correct line and for representation to wage struggle if they feel that a position is incorrect and to change a position that is considered to be incorrect.*
4. *If radically new information is introduced, then the information should be taken back to the staffs before a decision is reached.*

Step Number 6

The Steering Committee will synthesize ideas and points raised from course discussion and positions and make a decision.

Step Number 7

Representatives are to report to the Steering Committee's discussion, decision and rationale for the decision to their respective courses.

Each representative should also explain the reason for his/her decision on the committee.

Step Number 8

Courses are to discuss and implement the decisions of the courses. The Steering Committee is responsible for seeing that the decisions are carried out.

Rationale. *When a decision is made after full discussion by the courses and the Steering Committee the decision that is reached should stand and be implemented. If in practice the decision proves detrimental we can reopen the discussion in the same way in which discussion is initiated.*

Step Number 9.

Each Staff member is entitled to attend Steering Committee meetings. Staff members should inform the Steering Committee when they want and plan to attend. Steering Committee meetings will be closed to non-staff members unless approved by the Steering Committee. Staff members are those persons who have been approved to work with the courses on a paid or voluntary basis.

EMERGENCY SITUATIONS:

If an emergency arises and there is not enough time to call course staff meetings, The Steering Committee can meet and make a decision on the issue. Each committee member should get input from his/her staff on the issue:

1. Staff members should be contacted and urged to attend the meeting.
2. The issue should be discussed with those who will not be able to attend the meeting, before the meeting. The Steering Committee representative should then discuss the decision with his/her staff at the next opportune time.

Rationale: If the Steering Committee is to be a responsible body, it should be the one to make urgent decisions. Otherwise, the responsible we would be delegating it, would only be taken. The Steering Committee is the most logical body to make those decisions since it is representative of all the courses. Decisions should be made along the lines of the principles of the Program.

REPRESENTATION

1. Each course will elect a leading person and an alternate to represent them on the Steering Committee, the ES 200 Staff will elect two representatives and two alternates.
2. Membership on the Steering Committee shall be composed of one (1) representative for each course, with the exception of the ES 200 course which will have two (2) representatives. Each course shall have only one (1) vote on the Steering Committee decisions.
3. Representatives are subject to recall by the course staff at any time.
4. Each course shall review their course representatives based on criteria/self-criteria and select a representative every semester and summer.

#3 and #4 insure that there is a means for removal of representatives by their respective staffs and also that other developing people can be chosen for the Steering Committee.

QUORUM

A quorum of the Steering Committee shall consist of representatives from seven different staffs.

RESPONSIBILITIES:

1. One program review shall be held per semester which will include evaluation of the Steering Committee's work.
2. General Meetings will be called when major ideological and political decisions are to be made.
3. The dates for the meetings will be posted in the office. Agendas will be available from the Steering Committee representatives or Berta.

CRITERIA

1. Commitment to and the carrying out of Program goals and objectives.
2. Commitment to and the carrying out of course goals and objectives.

Plays active and constructive role in respective courses striving not only for commitment but also the implementation.

3. Shown in practice the application of learning from theory and practice in mass work.
 - a. Shown developing ability to initiate action in political work.
 - b. Developing an understanding of present conditions in Hawaii and the world.
 - c. Developing ability to distinguish between and understand differences in positions.
 - d. Has experience in:
 - 1) Integrating with the masses
 - 2) Investigating and assessing conditions
 - 3) Cultivating people
 - 4) Providing leadership
 - 5) Serving as an exemplary model

Leadership and the abilities above are developmental processes rather than skills that are attained, and once having attained the process. However, this should not mean that the Steering Committee is "training ground." The Steering Committee is a leadership body and should be comprised of the most qualified leaders.

4. Committed to learn and apply Dialectical and Historical Materialism.
5. Practices collective work methods
 - Disciplined in work (e.g. work methods)
6. Should be willing and able to provide sufficient time and commitment to Steering Committee responsibilities.
7. Willingness to initiate and practice criticism/self-criticism.

GUIDELINE CRITERIA FOR HIRING

The following should be used as guideline criteria by all courses in the hiring of Lab Leaders and Instructors:

1. POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE:

- a. Commitment to Hawai'i (plans to stay) and to bring about progressive social change
- b. Level of development - past and present study/practice; movement group and work area practice.
- c. Contact - open to M-L-M theory and philosophy.

2. ACCEPTANCE OF METHODS OF WORK:

- . Discipline, collective decision-making; basis for struggle; criticism/self-criticism; accountability to course staff and Program.

3. COURSE MATERIAL AND ANALYSIS:

- . Knowledge of course material, acceptance of course analysis

4. TIME COMMITMENT:

- . Will make the time commitment necessary for work in the course.

5. POSITIVE CHARACTERISTICS:

- a. Enthusiasm, sincerity, dedication, etc., in working for the Program goals.
- b. Willingness to struggle.
- c. Concern for others
- d. Independence, self-reliance
- e. Confidence.

6. ETHNIC BACKGROUND:

- . Where applicable to the course.

7. EXPERIENCE:

- a. Work
- b. Academic skills (writing/research)
- c. Group affiliations
- d. Travel
- e. Ability to convey ideas to others